





fail to feel the power which it handles any question of moment. This last speech has all the characteristics of the great orator, as well as the political philosopher. We need hardly say that we deem it almost entirely unobtainable in its rehearsal of accusations against the Republican party. But no matter for that—the Republicans can afford to let Gen. Cushing take his own method of presenting his views, which they will carefully and honestly weigh. They welcome light from every quarter, and will endeavor to meet the exigencies of the times with all the patriotism which Gen. Cushing could wish, and we believe with more candor than he evinces.

Here is the succeeding commentary of this in-and-out, for-and-against, neither—here nor there, doubled-and-twisted Boston Journal:

**ENOUGH OF CUSHING.** Mr. Cushing continued his address at Newburyport on Saturday evening, and it is still "to be continued." When this language will be terminated, nobody seems to know. But if, as we have supposed, the object of Mr. Cushing in giving his remarks to the public by piece-meal in the manner of the sensation story writers, is to make a more profound impression, he has overshot the mark. The public interest did not survive the publication of the first two installments of his speech, and having not in the least of its tone, spirit and general purport, there are few, we venture to say, who have followed Mr. Cushing to the present point, and still fewer will continue along with him until his words have run out.

From the Salem Register.

#### CALEB CUSHING—NOW, AND THEN.

Gen. Cushing has sounded his trumpet once more, and blown his secession blast. The first part was delivered in Newburyport on Monday evening—the last is yet to come. As has been usual with him of late years, and as was expected, he puts the North wholly in the wrong, and considers Massachusetts as a sinner of the deepest dye. It is sufficient to characterize the speech, to say of it that it might safely have been uttered in the very sink of treason, Charleston itself—where traitors have trampled under foot the flag of the Union; where members of Congress do not hesitate to cry, "down with the accursed Union!" and where a vessel owned in part by this same Caleb Cushing—and report of which we have seen and heard, has said, by his own telegraphic order—has pulled down the stars and stripes, and run up the "palmetto flag" for which act of devotion to sectionalism the ladies of Charleston are preparing a testimonial to the Northern man with South Carolina principles.

The whole tenor of this speech seems to us atrocious—monstrously wicked, as tending to add to the flame among the misguided and deluded secessionists; and we defy any one with a drop of Massachusetts blood in his veins to read it without a thrill of honest indignation for this perversion of the sentiments and purposes of the people of the North, and sovereign contempt for the man who could thus degrade his talents, and belie the promptings of his early manhood. But he has run his head against an "idea," and bids fair to dash his brains out.

Gen. Cushing says it was left to degenerate sons of the fathers to begin to undo the great work which they had not wisdom to comprehend or virtue to maintain in its pristine integrity and strength; and he charges that in twenty years after the establishment of the Constitution, men of the Northern States began to strike blows at the equality of the States—that they next abandoned or perverted the Constitution for the purpose of confounding the property and other domestic rights of citizens of the South, sojourning or in transit at the North—and so he goes on to the end of the chapter, in a style which makes the enquiry pertinent, or at least suggests the thought, whether Gen. Cushing has any idea of offending against the principles of a military leader, to marshal their Minute Men against the people of the Free States who have wronged the South so foully as he alleges.

Gen. Cushing also pounces upon Senator Wilson, and pretends not to know that he is the author of the "Slave Power." Perhaps the redoubtable General may take a hint from DANIEL WEBSTER'S speech, in which he said: "In my judgment, we are to use the first, and the last, and every occasion which occurs, in maintaining our sentiments against the extension of the SLAVE POWER"—and as a "political question," too, "for statement to discuss, and entertain, and act upon." Or from the old Whig resolutions, which made frequent mention of the "tyranny and usurpation of the SLAVE POWER," and the "destruction of the unjust influence of the SLAVE POWER"—and find a more charitable interpretation than he professes to give to the phrase.

But these desultory remarks are merely intended as preliminary to calling attention to some of Mr. Cushing's former sentiments, so that the public may judge whether or not he is absolved from the guilt which he so freely charges upon others. He thunders about the sins of the North, and flippantly says—"as if so petty a question as the labor of the South were the sum of the Universe of the providence of Almighty God!" Let us see what even Caleb Cushing once thought about this "petty question"—for it is much pleasanter to turn over the pages of his old record than to peruse the new.

It so happens that while the nullification fever was at its height, or had just passed its climax, in 1833, CALEB CUSHING delivered the Fourth of July Oration before the Massachusetts Colonization Society in Boston, and his very first sentence was—

"Liberty—liberty of thought, liberty of speech, liberty of action—liberty in government, liberty in person, in the master principle, the predominant idea, the great first motive passion, which, in all times, but most of all in our own, has impelled and agitated the world. Whether in savage or civilized existence, it is alike the cherished desire of the human heart, and potent spring of human life. It is the one overruling sentiment, which God implanted in his breast; it inspires him with untutored eloquence in council, it nerves his arm in battle."

He said that, being assembled in the name and in the holy cause of Liberty, "fitly, therefore, upon this proud anniversary, since the day of our emancipation from bondage as a people should be consecrated to the one high principle, which singles us out from its undistinguished fellows in the lapse of time—the conservation of the genuine theory of universal justice—the spreading abroad of the great truth that all men are born to equal participation in the blessings of life—THE RIGHTS AND WRONGS OF THE SLAVE, WHEREVER HE MAY BE, AND OF WHAT-EVER CLIME OR COMPLEXION—the cause, in a word, of constitutional Liberty." He proceeds to say—

"We, indeed, in the land of the pilgrim fathers, the chosen refuge of the oppressed, inhale the pure atmosphere of freedom; we imbibe its doctrines with the very being we draw from the maternal breast; they come to be the first elements of our moral constitution in manhood; and for us, it is only the abuse of liberty from within, that we have reason to apprehend in our New England. And would to heaven that it were so in our whole country; that the curse of involuntary servitude did not still cling to so large a portion of our countrymen, destroying their peace, filling their dwellings with the agonies of perpetual domestic suspicion, subjecting their families to massacre, and hanging its dead weight upon their public welfare; that the chains of the Negro were at length and forever struck from his limbs; that Liberty, Knowledge, and Christianity, were made equally the unpurchased birthright of the European and the African, throughout the New World! Glorious in truth, and auspicious, will be the day—glorious for our country, auspicious for the human race—when man shall cease to be the bond-slave of man."

It matters not what name of sect we of New England may bear—in what form of association, what combination of party, we may be ranked—in this point we are of universal accord; and we are so—not merely from that innate conviction, that prejudice of education, if you will, which has grown with our growth—but on considerations of eternal truth, of justice, of humanity, of religion, of expediency, of everything which should inform the heart and control the actions of a rational and accountable man—of a patriot, a philosopher, and a Christian.

We maintain, and the letter of our Constitution is to us a truth, that men are born to equal political rights, however the accidents of fortune may interpose to deprive them of the enjoyment of these rights; and that personal servitude, therefore, is contrary to the fundamental principles of political justice.

We believe that, although the Bible inculcates legal obedience to the subject of the will of the servant to the master, yet political equality, civil freedom and personal freedom, and of course the doctrines of emancipation, are among the peculiar and characteristic lessons of the religion of Jesus Christ."

O that Caleb Cushing were as he once was! O that he could drink of the fabled fountain of youth, and be himself again—a true son of Massachusetts and New England!

One more extract must not be omitted, as illustrative of Mr. Cushing's New England sentiments a quarter of a century ago, viz:—

"We are deeply sensible of the pernicious influence of slavery upon the condition of that portion of our country where it exists, and the character of its free inhabitants. We see that it tends to weaken the spirit of enterprise, and to banish industry by rendering labor disagreeable; that it corrupts the morals by promoting idleness and affording facilities for vicious indulgence; and that, striking as these evils are, they are poorly compensated by the livelier sense of the value of freedom and higher tone of honor, which may prevail in a slaveholding community. We see, among the States of the Union, where nature has most bountifully favored, comparatively impoverished by the system of slave labor—rendered tributary to the industrious population of the free States, or of foreign countries, for all the comforts and conveniences of life—unblessed by the signs of universal competency, happiness, and welfare, the commodious habitations, the thrifty and well ordered farms, the flourishing manufactures, the ships, the churches, the schools, which are the result and the honor of free labor in the Eastern and Middle States;—we see all this, the retribution which slavery has exacted upon itself, and see monstrous disloyalty towards the Union, in certain regions of the South, of which, whatever may be the protests, THIS UNDOUBTEDLY IS NOT THE LEAST FRUITFUL SOURCE; and in these considerations, even if the right of the slave did not cry to heaven for his ransom, we should find incentives enough to plead, and labor, and pray for the purification of this plague-spot from our land, for the end of this great drawback in the palmy prosperity of the Union."

If any sentiments, differing from these, have obtained among us, it is unknown to me. I avow these to be the sentiments which I entertain, and believe them to have universal currency, throughout New England."

But we must refrain from further extracts from this address, and with the subjoined passages of a speech made a few years later, close by asking the reader to appeal from Caleb Cushing in these days of secession traitors, to Caleb Cushing in the days of Nullification!—

**SPEECH OF CALEB CUSHING**  
On the Resolutions of Kentucky and Massachusetts, recommending the Distribution of the Proceeds of the Public Lands among the States. House of Representatives, May 29, 1835.

Our country, with all its sectional diversity of views and feelings, is one. It is one in its rich, many, vigorous, expressive language among us, which is become the vernacular tongue, as it were, of parliamentary eloquence, the very dialect of constitutional freedom. It is one in the fame of our fathers, and in the historical reminiscences which belong to us as a nation. It is one in the political principles of republicanism which we feel and profess in common, no matter in what spot of earth our portion be cast. It is one in the substantial basis of our manners, in the warp, at least, of which the web is woven. It is one in the ties of friendship, affinity, and blood, binding together, throughout the whole extent of the land, the associations of trade, of emigration and of marriage. It is one in the general balance of interests and of business, arising from our mutual wants and the reciprocal interchanges of the products of our industry. It is one in our exterior relations, protected together by the honor of the flag of the Union. It is one in that glorious Constitution, the best inheritance transmitted to us by our fathers, the monument of their wisdom and their virtue, under whose shelter we live and flourish as a People.

One we are in fact, one should we be in sentiment. To this great Republic, in the person of a grandeur, union is power, union is honor, union is everything which a free-spirited and mighty nation should glory to possess. To us all, next to independence, next to liberty, next to honor, be persuaded that a cordial and abiding solidarity of the American People is the greatest of earthly goods. We, the several States which compose it, entered into it with conciliation to the people of our sister States in our hearts, and compromise of all secondary interests in our acts. Thus let us persevere, with the same emotions, fresh and bright as in the first concert, and winged forth in the exhaustion of the first ardor; feeling that, like the fabled fountains of Florida, they are capable to communicate matchless beauty and everlasting youth to this our beloved Republic.

But, unlike other political societies, this will endure unchangeable forever. I cannot hope; but I pray to God, if in the decrees of his providence he have any mercy in store for me, not to suffer me to behold the hour of its dissolution; its glory extinct; its banner of its pride rent and trampled in the dust; its nationality a moral of history; its grandeur, a lustrous vision of the past; its life, vanished; its liberty a disembodied spirit, brooding, like the genius of the past, amid the prostrate monuments of its old majesty.

And there is in the burning chambers of the dread hereafter, no infinity of wrath vast enough for him, who, Enslaved, and remembering, only for himself, shall apply the torch of destruction to this fair Ephesian temple of our Union. That time, in some long, long future age, and that person, may come, for the overthrow of our country. Accursed be the traitor, whosoever and wheresoever, who, in his advancing age, shall be the robber of God's perishing poor and needy at the South, the old dissent gentlemen of property and standing, in Boston rallied in mobocratic array, and bravely assailed and dispersed a small gathering of females called to consider the same subject of slavery, thus bringing historical infamy upon Boston to this end of time, a contemptible portion of the same well-dressed, respectable, but most unprincipled devotees at the shrine of Mammon, [that is, their lineal successors,] made their appearance in a solid body at the meeting on Monday, by stealthy agreement and with unity of purpose, and exhibited themselves in clear sunlight as lost to all shame, destitute of all decency, devoid of common sense, dastards in spirit, ruffians in action, and fit associates for the vilest of the vile. What they did, and how they behaved, let the record of their mobocratic proceedings, as copied mainly from the Post and Courier, and their own organs, as given in another portion of our paper, testify. They easily succeeded in breaking up the meeting, as the number of those present friendly to it were few, (just as we anticipated they would be at a preliminary gathering,) and too much imbued with the spirit of peace and patient forbearance to meet their assailants with the weapons of violence. Indeed, they were wholly taken by surprise; for while, in consequence of some flying rumors, they were anticipating more or less of rowdyish annoyance at the evening session, they expected no disturbance whatever during the day.

The inevitable result of this dastardly outrage will be to give to what had been but a little moment, extraordinary conspicuity, power, interest and solemnity to the friends of immediate emancipation in their labors for the abolition of slavery, to strengthen the Anti-Slavery enterprise and increase its resources,—to demonstrate the incompatibility of the slaveholding spirit, as well as the North as in the South, with freedom of speech and Republican institutions, and thus to concentrate upon it the indignation of a free people until it be driven out with universal execration, no more to curse our soil and breed anarchy in the Commonwealth. If it had been the first attempt by violence to suppress the sympathies of the human heart, to stifle the convictions of conscience, to inaugurate the reign of terror on free soil, to "squell out the abolitionists," (to quote the vernacular of the Boston Post,) the participants therein might be excused, to some extent, on the ground of short-sightedness and utter inexperience; but, as it is the last of a series of similar riotous outbreaks

extending through a period of thirty years, all over the country, every one of which has done far more to advance the Abolition movement than any unaided effort in its behalf could possibly have accomplished, and all of them together mightily hastening the day of jubilee, the stupidity of the rioters is matched by nothing but their selfish malignity. Their outbreak is as impotent as it is despicable. If, when the Anti-Slavery cause was in its infancy—when its friends were few, and far between—when every form of violence and every device of Satan were resorted to, throughout the country, to stop its onward course—it triumphed over all opposition—what glory and madness it is in Mr. Richard S. Fay, Mr. J. Murray Howe, and their riotous confederates, to imagine that by a single lawless procedure on their part, as exhibited on Monday last, they can bring that glorious cause to the ground, now that it is strong enough to control the political action of sixteen States of the Union, and virtually to determine the destiny of the nation! 'O, fools and blind!'

Let not any abroad imagine that the least importance is to be attached to this convulsive spasm of mercenary scoundrelism. The Boston of 1835 is not the Boston of 1860. There is no parallel between the two cases.

## The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BOSTON, DECEMBER 7, 1860.

### NO SLAVE-HUNTING IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The following petition is now in the hands of reliable friends of freedom, in all parts of the Commonwealth, for immediate circulation. It is precisely the same which, for the two preceding years, has been signed by thousands of the most virtuous and humane portion of the people, and which ought to be subscribed by every man and woman in Massachusetts. Those to whom it has been sent are earnestly urged to be up and doing, for the time is short between the present and the period for the assembling of the Legislature. Let every family, and every person, be tested by its presentation; let it be (as it will) a revelation of character and of purpose; and let the world know how many there are among us who remember those in bonds as bound with them, and are therefore for protecting the fugitive, or, on the other hand, how many are still for allowing slave-hunters to seize their prey with impunity on the Puritan and Revolutionary soil of the old Bay State, and to act as their accomplices in kidnapping.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts:

The undersigned, citizens of Massachusetts, respectfully ask you to put an end to SLAVE-HUNTING in Massachusetts, by enacting that no person, who has been held as a Slave, shall be delivered up, by any officer or court, State or Federal, within this Commonwealth, to any one claiming him on the ground that he owes "service or labor" to such claimant, by the laws of one of the Slave States of this Union.

### ANOTHER DASTARDLY ATTEMPT TO SUPPRESS FREEDOM OF SPEECH.

In accordance with public notice, the Convention to consider the question, "How can American Slavery be Abolished?"—called by a number of young men, unconnected, at this time, with any organization, was attempted to be held at the Tremont Temple, on Monday last. Provision was made for three sessions, the first commencing at 11 o'clock, A. M. As is usually the case when three meetings are to be held the same day, it was supposed by those friendly to the Convention that there would be a small attendance at the forenoon session, which would be somewhat increased in the afternoon, and largely augmented in the evening, when rest from the toils of the day gives the necessary leisure for a general gathering. It was our impression that the Convention would prove comparatively a failure, as the Call did not emanate from a source calculated to carry any personal weight, and as no conference or consultation whatever had with the long-tried advocates of the Anti-Slavery cause, who, if they had been consulted, would have suggested a very different mode of procedure, and who had nothing to do with it directly. Still, it was the unquestionable right of the "young men" alluded to, to invite to a conference all who desire the overthrow of slavery; and in extending their invitation "to the leaders and representatives of all the different Anti-Slavery bodies, and to various men of eminence who have done honor to their own souls by advocating the cause of impartial freedom," they evinced the broadest catholicity of spirit.

There was nothing peculiar, nothing exceptional, nothing limited, in the question proposed for consideration. All the various conflicting opinions in regard to its true solution, as far as the time would permit, were to have utterance on a free platform. It was a meeting for manly, candid and friendly discussion—not partisan, not one-sided, not exclusive—and, therefore, specially entitled to all the legal protection which the city authorities could extend, and to be held without molestation. None but mercenaries, dastards, ruffians, and plant tools in the service of the devil, would presume to invade such a meeting, and by beastly bellows, serpent-like hisses, and overwhelming numbers, take violent possession of it, and trample upon all the fundamental principles of self-government. It is true, the meeting was held on the anniversary of the martyrdom of John Brown; but no better day could have been selected in the whole calendar, and the right of citizens peaceably to assemble on any day they please is not to be questioned, nor tamely surrendered. Nevertheless, it was expressly stated in the Call,—"as if to calm the most excitable, and to prevent all misapprehension,—that 'every one thus invited is expected, in his speeches or letters, to confine himself exclusively to the great Question of the Day,' and not to indulge in any glorification of John Brown. Hundreds of similar meetings have been held in this city, thousands in this Commonwealth, tens of thousands in various parts of New England, and hundreds of thousands throughout the North, during the last thirty years. It did not prevent, therefore, the slightest novelty, and, under the circumstances, if it had been left to itself (as we have already remarked,) would in all probability have proved almost a dead failure."

But so it was not to be. As in 1835, stimulated by the infernal greed of the gains of trade, how ever basely acquired, and hoping to conciliate the robbers of God's perishing poor and needy at the South, the old dissent gentlemen of property and standing, in Boston rallied in mobocratic array, and bravely assailed and dispersed a small gathering of females called to consider the same subject of slavery, thus bringing historical infamy upon Boston to this end of time, a contemptible portion of the same well-dressed, respectable, but most unprincipled devotees at the shrine of Mammon, [that is, their lineal successors,] made their appearance in a solid body at the meeting on Monday, by stealthy agreement and with unity of purpose, and exhibited themselves in clear sunlight as lost to all shame, destitute of all decency, devoid of common sense, dastards in spirit, ruffians in action, and fit associates for the vilest of the vile. What they did, and how they behaved, let the record of their mobocratic proceedings, as copied mainly from the Post and Courier, and their own organs, as given in another portion of our paper, testify. They easily succeeded in breaking up the meeting, as the number of those present friendly to it were few, (just as we anticipated they would be at a preliminary gathering,) and too much imbued with the spirit of peace and patient forbearance to meet their assailants with the weapons of violence. Indeed, they were wholly taken by surprise; for while, in consequence of some flying rumors, they were anticipating more or less of rowdyish annoyance at the evening session, they expected no disturbance whatever during the day.

The inevitable result of this dastardly outrage will be to give to what had been but a little moment, extraordinary conspicuity, power, interest and solemnity to the friends of immediate emancipation in their labors for the abolition of slavery, to strengthen the Anti-Slavery enterprise and increase its resources,—to demonstrate the incompatibility of the slaveholding spirit, as well as the North as in the South, with freedom of speech and Republican institutions, and thus to concentrate upon it the indignation of a free people until it be driven out with universal execration, no more to curse our soil and breed anarchy in the Commonwealth. If it had been the first attempt by violence to suppress the sympathies of the human heart, to stifle the convictions of conscience, to inaugurate the reign of terror on free soil, to "squell out the abolitionists," (to quote the vernacular of the Boston Post,) the participants therein might be excused, to some extent, on the ground of short-sightedness and utter inexperience; but, as it is the last of a series of similar riotous outbreaks

extending through a period of thirty years, all over the country, every one of which has done far more to advance the Abolition movement than any unaided effort in its behalf could possibly have accomplished, and all of them together mightily hastening the day of jubilee, the stupidity of the rioters is matched by nothing but their selfish malignity. Their outbreak is as impotent as it is despicable. If, when the Anti-Slavery cause was in its infancy—when its friends were few, and far between—when every form of violence and every device of Satan were resorted to, throughout the country, to stop its onward course—it triumphed over all opposition—what glory and madness it is in Mr. Richard S. Fay, Mr. J. Murray Howe, and their riotous confederates, to imagine that by a single lawless procedure on their part, as exhibited on Monday last, they can bring that glorious cause to the ground, now that it is strong enough to control the political action of sixteen States of the Union, and virtually to determine the destiny of the nation! 'O, fools and blind!'

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Of the immediate actors in this outrage, the two most guilty were Richard S. Fay, of Lynn,—having a residence also on Beacon Street,—and James Murray Howe, of Brookline. Hereafter, theirs is to be an infamous reputation. The resolutions presented by the former for the adoption of the meeting,—such is their despotism and murderous spirit,—are worthy of an admirer of King Bomba, and a follower of Capt. Kidd.

Of course, the severest condemnation is merited by Mayor Lincoln, who, by his constabulary force, violently suppressed the Convention, ejected from the hall those who alone were rightfully entitled to the use of it, who had not misbehaved in any manner, and who were therefore entitled to the fullest protection, but who, nevertheless, were the special objects of police violence—women not excepted. It is truly, the evening meeting at Joy Street Church was efficiently protected against the surrounding mob by the Mayor and his posse; but this cannot atone for his high-handed procedure in forcibly closing the Temple.

The Courier, as a villainous sheet, naturally sanctions, applauds, and glows over this rowdyism.

**LETTER TO THE CONVENTION.**  
BOSTON, DEC. 1, 1860.  
DEAR SIR,—Abstaining by medical advice from all public speaking at present, in consequence of a bronchial difficulty, I can only respond by letter to the invitation extended to me by the committee of arrangements, to participate in the proceedings of the Convention to be held at the Temple on Monday next, in order to mark the anniversary of the martyrdom of John Brown, and to consider the question, "How can American slavery be abolished?"

My method of abolishing slavery is before the country, and has been for the last thirty years. I see no inducement to change or modify it, in any material respect. Briefly, it is comprised in these particulars: 1. To brand slavery as essentially, self-evidently and eternally unjust, as applied to any portion of mankind; and, therefore, not to be made a debatable question, nor a matter of policy, nor dependent upon any contingency for its abolition; on the contrary, it is to be abhorred, denounced, assailed, in season and out of season, without forbearance or mercy, without compromise or procrastination, by every legitimate weapon, until it cease to pollute and curse the land.

2. Being a system of unparalleled enormity, its upholders and abettors should be the objects of continual warning, entreaty, expostulation, rebuke, exposure and assault. No religious body, claiming the Christian name, and exercising any discipline whatever, should allow any such to be recognized as competent to membership. None of them should be elevated to any position of public trust and emolument. They should be subjected to universal moral and social ostracism. Public indignation should burn like fire against them. They are the deadliest enemies of domestic tranquility, of public order, of sound morality, of sacred law, of general prosperity. Towards the objects of their oppression, they reverse all the axioms of political economy, and consign them to a fate a thousand times more to be dreaded than untimely death. They perpetrate all crimes in the one act of making merchandise of their fellow-creatures, and hence give unbounded scope to licentiousness, brutality, robbery and murder; and when their conduct is called in question, instantly their passions are set on fire of hell, and they behave like demons. Witness the present state of the South, blinding as it does the maniacal ravings of Bedlam with the torments of the damned!

3. For the slave, every demand is to be made that one human being may claim of another. Immediate and unconditional emancipation—the recognition and protection of his manhood by law—the power to make contracts, to receive wages, to accumulate property, to acquire knowledge, to dwell where he chooses, to defend his wife, children, and friends. Were the patriots of 1776 justified in rising up in insurrection, and resisting British oppression unto death? Then are the slaves of the South to be justified, a thousand times more, in imitating their example, and making "Liberty or Death" their motto—enduring as they do, to quote the language of Jefferson in their case, "a bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which we rose in rebellion to oppose." Did our revolutionary fathers deserve foreign sympathy, and was it meritorious on the part of France to aid them to achieve their independence? So do the slaves deserve as much sympathy and aid at the hands of all who believe in the Bunker Hill process of making tyranny bite the dust. Was it to the immortal honor of Lafayette, that he drew his sword and perilled his life for our deliverance? Still more is it to the glory of John Brown and his associates, that they staked all that was dear to them, and nearly all perished, in the attempt to liberate the sable bondmen in Virginia. "Sit sempiternus tyrannus!" Brand the man as a hypocrite and dastard, who, in one breath, exults in the deeds of Washington and Warren, and in the next, denounces Nat Turner as a monster for refusing longer to wear the yoke and be driven under the lash, and for taking up arms to defend his God-given rights. If the doctrine of non-resistance ought to be spurned for oppressed white men, it is equally to be spurned for oppressed black men. Weapons of death for all, or for none, who are struggling to be free. Let Hancock and Adams be covered with infamy, or the black liberators who sided John Brown be honored in history.

Thus do I defend the manhood of the humblest slave as on a level with that of his lordly tyrant, and thus do I place them together on the same equality of natural rights. Thus do I test the nation by its own revolutionary standard, taking Bunker Hill moment for my measuring line. No matter for race or complexion—"a man's a man, for a' that." But, for myself, I believe in the inviolability of human life, and therefore disarm, by my principles, alike the oppressor and the oppressed. I believe in the immense superiority of spiritual over carnal weapons, and so seek not the overthrow of slavery by a bloody process. But, assuredly, were I a convert to the doctrine of '76, that a resort to the sword is justifiable to recover lost liberty, then would I plot insurrection by day and by night, deal more in blows and less in words, and seek through blood the emancipation of all who are groaning in captivity at the South.

Finally, I am for taking away all the props which now sustain the slave system, and thus effecting its speedy and eternal overthrow.

Yours, for no union with slaveholders,  
WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

**JAMES REPATH, Esq.**

**MRS. HOWE'S 'TRIP TO CUBA.'**  
BOSTON, DEC. 1, 1860.

DEAR MR. GARRISON: You are probably already aware of your mistake in attributing to Mrs. Howe an article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, which displeased you—several expressions in which grieved me also. Upon this, accordingly, as a recognized mistake, no more need be said here. But allow me to reiterate somewhat against the extreme severity of your allusion to the "Trip to Cuba." I observed, and observed with sorrow, that you placed an extract from this book in your "Refuge of Oppression," while it was in course of publication in the *Atlantic*. Consider what the Authors meant to do—to stand quite aside from all grave questions, and give brightly sketches of the scenes which came before her eyes. She looked at them in their relation to present duty, not in their relation to future history, but only in their immediate aspects; and drew her picture accordingly. Meeting one day with some human beings of a very low type, who happened to be Negroes,—not because they were Negroes, but because they were human beings of a low and degraded type,—she found herself not enamored of them, and frankly said so. I remember having similar impressions, many years ago, in walking over Southern plantations; and I never, to this day, picture to myself those imbruted faces, without a fainter beat of the heart—without an appalling anticipation of the work which lies beyond the abolition of slavery, namely, the still more important, and still more difficult, abolition of slavishness.

Theodore Parker, following Blumenbach's division of the human species into five orders, assigned emphatically the lowest rank to the Negro. Letters passed between him and myself on the subject,—I disputing, without effect, the inferiority of the Negroes to the American Indians. I continue of the same mind; yet my claim for them is not that they are wise, or witty, or handsome, but only that they are MEN, and that justice shall be done them. Wise ones are doubtless found among them; witty ones are frequent; I have seen some who were strikingly handsome; and I think beauty just as possible to men of their color as to men of ours. Yet, as a whole, I cannot deny that, among them, in far too great numbers for my cheer, are found features and expressions that make me shudder. Such blacks I shall not admire more than I feel they are whites. I shall express dislike of them, disgust at them, as readily as though they were of the Caucasian complexion, and lived in Beacon Street. What more did the authors of the "Trip to Cuba" say? They said wittily, what I might not say wittily—that is all. The tone of light railery and half-blitting playfulness, which pervades her sketches, is simply continued, when she comes to speak of the blacks. Were it reserved for them alone, we might suspect her of lack of compassion; but her light shocks of electric banter are played off on all alike—on the great Theodore, no less than the Negroes of Nassau. We must remember, too, that her voice has been heard before, and heard in words of high and faithful testimony. Take these:—

"The cause needs no appealing—wrongs like thine, Nature makes dumb with greatness—do they crave The lowliness of Earth? from all hearts, hearts, hearts, Thou hast it with this thought: here was a Slave!"

A heart true to freedom, warm and sisterly toward the slave, I know it would hurt your heart to sound. Look, my dear sir, whether your hand, in this instance, have not done what your heart least desired.

D. A. WASSON.

**REPLY.** We lose no time in expressing our regret, that we so hastily attributed to Mrs. Howe the article in the last *Atlantic Monthly*, upon which we commented in terms of just, but indignant severity. We have no personal feelings in the matter, and are glad to find we are at fault in our supposition of authorship. As for the apology of our friend Mr. W. Asson, for the banter of a "low and degraded type of Negroes," contained in the "Trip to Cuba," it seems to be satisfactory to him, because (we are sorry to learn) he has experienced "similar impressions" towards the same unfortunate class! It is not so to us. It is possible that a humane and refined mind can make sport, or may be justified in making it, of "such imbruted faces" as caused the heart of our friend W. to "best fainter"? What, then, is low or inhuman? It is not a question of "admiration" of the blacks, but of genuine pity and compassionate consideration.

Mr. Wasson says—"I shall express dislike of them, disgust at them, as readily as though they were of the Caucasian complexion, and lived in Beacon Street." Beacon Street is above private dislike or disgust, and the Caucasian race is now proudly dominant.

**For the Liberator.**  
**PHILIP VANDAL.**  
Long years he bore the taunt and gibe,  
The scorn of fool, the wrath of knave,  
The hate of Pharisee and Scribe,  
That crown the man who loved the slave.

There comes a lull: the rowdies bold  
Have fled with pogan eggs, and squit.  
Who catcalls now? What you, who hold  
Professorship of modern—dirt?

You, who, unplaced, unbought, could sing  
Of him who stood on God's own side,  
From feathered nest now dart to sting  
The man who dares with God abide.

What, are you dazed, as you shine  
With girls who print their mental leaks;  
Bedazzled with little jests and wine  
Of little dilettanti cliques?

Know that the poet's lips are dumb  
When, filled with worldling's meat and drink,  
You strive to catch reproach on one  
Who dares to be what poets think.

Could he have faltered from the right,  
His social place had trod the thine;  
Nor revellers could on festal night  
Pain puns to mingle with their wine.

'Young Philip Vandal'! why, the sneer  
Strikes back to shame thee with a truth;  
Behold the man who does not fear  
To trust the insight of his youth!

Still burns his torch through blackest night,  
Through changing wind, through shifting storm,  
White, pale and puffed, you softly write  
Your comic, popular reform!

Well! nestle in the easy berth,  
Pan on in the professor's chair,—  
But fear to measure by thy worth  
What nobler men can do and dare!

### LETTER OF ENGLISH BAPTISTS TO REV. BARON STOW, D. D.

I have received from England a copy of a paper published in Bristol, entitled—"The Mirror of the Anti-Slavery Struggle." Published to promote the Abolition of American Slavery, by defeating its attempts to find a shelter in the British Churches."

No. 3 of this paper is entirely devoted to a consideration of the question—"Does the Rev. Baron Stow, D. D., of Boston, in the United States, sanction slavery, or not?" This had been made a subject of special inquiry by the London Board of Baptist Ministers, who were moved thereto by the direct contradiction between Dr. Stow's statements, at his visit to England last year, and certain details of evidence respecting his pro-slavery position home, which were laid before them. The matter was thoroughly sifted, and the details of evidence in regard to it are set forth in the paper, convicting Dr. Stow not only of gross misrepresentation, but of direct violation of the truth, in his replies to his Baptist brethren in England, respecting the relation which he sustained to slavery at home.

This evidence fully and decisively establishes the following points:—

1. That Dr. Stow, having many years ago favored Anti-Slavery action, has now for a long period approved this country, and given his influence to the support of the slave system in the South, and the maintenance of the kindred system of caste in the North.

2. That among the evidence of his fraternization with pro-slavery clergymen, is the preaching in his pulpit (August 16th, 1858,) of the preaching in the Fuller, who has been one of the persons most widely known in this country as a slaveholder and a public defender of slavery.

3. That among the evidence of his choosing to stand on the side of slavery, is his position among the Managers of the Southern Aid Society, and of the American Tract Society; and his policy refusing to remain a member of the Executive Committee of the Boston Tract Society, when that body took the very moderate step forward of consenting "strategically" to meet the moral evils which slavery is known to produce.

4. That among the evidence of his upholding the anti-Christian system of caste, is the



Wendell Phillips was the next speaker. On rising he was received with prolonged applause and cheers. At its conclusion, he proceeded to speak. The meeting itself, he said, was a speech to which little could be added. This is Boston, which vindicates itself for two hundred years. They were profoundly grateful that when driven out of other places, they found a colored church. Just a year since, the speaker carried the remains of John Brown to their resting place, and was happy to see North Elba that Boston welcomes his coming (Cheers.)

Mr. Phillips next took up the subject of the Boston Mayoralty. We Abolitionists, he said, are accustomed to live without a government. He did not recollect a decent Mayor of Boston for twenty years. [Some one in the audience here hissed.] Mr. Phillips said that the right to him was as clear as to speak. With two exceptions, there was not a city north of Baltimore, in which Abolition meetings had not been broken up.

In alluding to the meeting at Tremont Temple, he said the rioters only were allowed to go free. He praised the prompt action of Mayor Henry of Philadelphia when the mob attempted to disturb George W. Curtis. When asked what he would do with these disturbers, Mayor Henry replied, "Send them to the watch-house"—a decision and a pluck he thought they would look for in vain in Boston. The speaker next proceeded to criticize with much severity the course of Mr. Lincoln during the day. Mr. Phillips was thankful that the meeting to-night was not governed by State Street. They had kicked South Carolina out of the Union, and set her crying and crying shaking. He thanked God Richard S. Fay was not a Boston man, nor was he a gentleman.

Should he be said, he continued, that they are to support at home that which we ask our Representatives in Congress to carry out? If they could no have met in any hall in the city, they should have held a meeting on the Common. John Brown, Jr. had advised colored men to arm themselves with revolvers and to meet at the Common.

In relation to the abolition of slavery, Mr. Phillips said he was in favor of all methods, but principally of free discussion. State street can't bear free speech, and that is what we want to give it. The speaker next alluded to the jubilee of the slave.

Again referring to the meeting at Tremont Temple, he said that men on State street, whose notes command thousands, had been guilty of meanly stealing the hall.

Mr. Phillips concluded, urging the friends of freedom to continue in the good work, which was sure to triumph.

The resolutions were then adopted.

Frederick Douglass was then introduced. After the applause with which he was received had subsided, he proceeded to speak on the subject of the best method of abolishing slavery. He was in favor of all peace and war, of union and disunion, (laughter,) of moral suasion and law. He advocated in particular the "John Brown way." The speaker was sorrowful to see the meeting at the Common at the Tremont Temple to look Mr. Fay in the face.

Brief addresses were subsequently made by Messrs. Parker Pillsbury and H. Ford Douglass, and Rev. J. Sella Martin. At quarter to 10 o'clock, the meeting adjourned with cheers.

Up to this time, no acts of violence had been committed, but now, as if by a preconcerted plan, a brutal assault was made upon such colored persons as were peaceably retiring to their homes. Clubs and stones were freely used against them. Among those seriously injured were G. W. Crawford, Daniel Butcher, George Rhoades, Thomas Prout, George Roberts, and several others. Attacks were also made upon several dwelling-houses, which were more or less injured. The windows of the Howard Boarding House, and also those of Gregory's Saloon on Cambridge Street, were smashed in. The Cambridge cars were, in several instances, beset in case of colored victims, on whom to wreak their murderous hate.

Glorious exploits these, Mr. Richard S. Fay I—Gallant achievements these, Mr. J. Murray Howe!

**THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.** This document was presented to Congress on Tuesday. We have room but for a few lines to indicate its character. On the important question now agitating the country, the President has much to say. He declares the North to have been the aggressor, and pronounces the Personal Liberty Bills of the Northern States unconstitutional. The right of secession is denied, and the perpetuity of the Union asserted, as the design of its founders. As a remedy for existing evils, an amendment to the Constitution is proposed, recognizing first, the right of property in slaves in States where slavery now exists or may exist hereafter; second, the duty of protecting such rights in all the common territory, until the latter are admitted as States into the Union; third, a like recognition of the right of the master to recover a fugitive slave!!! This proposed remedy should at least be tried, the President says, before resorting to revolution. He then proceeds to speak of other questions, including our relations with foreign governments.

**A. T. FOSS, an Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will speak at**

Fairbank,	Friday, Dec. 7.
New Bedford,	Sunday, " 9.

**H. FORD DOUGLASS will speak at**

Lunenburg,	Friday, Dec. 7.
Winchendon,	Tuesday, " 11.
Ware,	Wednesday, " 12.
Westminster,	Thursday, " 13.
Gardner Centre,	Sunday, " 16.
South Gardner,	Tuesday, " 18.
East Templeton,	Wednesday, " 19.
Barnardston,	Friday, " 21.
Barre,	Sunday, " 23.

**HENRY CHURCH WRIGHT will lecture in the Universalist Church, at Weymouth, on Sunday afternoon and evening, Dec. 9.**

At Paxton, Sunday, Dec. 16.

At Bethel, Vt., in Bullard's Hall, Sunday, Dec. 23.

We intend a Free Convention in same place to commence on Tuesday, Dec. 25, and to continue three or four days, as shall be deemed best by the Convention.

**SIXTEENTH COURSE.**

The Third Lecture before the Salem Female Anti-Slavery Society will be given by CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, of Plainfield, Ct., on Sunday evening, Dec. 1, in Lyceum Hall, at 7 o'clock.

Admittance, five cents.

**CAROLINE BALCH, Rec. Sec.**

**WORCESTER NORTH A. S. SOCIETY.**

The next meeting of this Society will be held at Fitchburg, on Saturday evening and Sunday afternoon and evening, Dec. 8 and 9. The public are cordially invited.

E. H. HAYWOOD, H. FORD DOUGLASS, JOHN BROWN, Jr., and others, will be given by CHARLES C. BURLEIGH.

**JOSHUA T. EVERETT, President.**

**MORIS H. MERRICK, Sec'y.**

**CHARLES C. BURLEIGH will speak at South Danvers, Saturday evening, Dec. 8.**

**E. H. HAYWOOD will speak at Fall River, Tuesday evening, Dec. 11th.**

**MRS. C. H. DALL will, by invitation of the Young Men's Christian Union, deliver a lecture on Thursday evening, Dec. 23, at half-past 7 o'clock, at their Rooms, 16 Summer street, on the 'Ideal Standard of Female Character,' which will give some account of the public work in Algiers and Egypt.**

All of the music are invited.

**ELISHA MYRICK, Secretary.**

**CHARLES SPEAR will give the Second Lecture in the course next Sabbath evening in Boylston Hall. Subject: Scripture Natural History; with Illustrative Paintings. Seats free.**

The subscriber acknowledges the receipt of Ten Dollars from Charles T. Beach, E. Otto, N. A. in aid of the Kansas sufferers.

Dec. 5, 1860. R. F. WALLCUT.

**BESSIE S. LOCKWOOD, M. D.,**

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OFFICE HOURS from 11 A. M., till 2 P. M.

Nov. 23, 1860. am.



